

THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the
problem of Democracy

PART 2

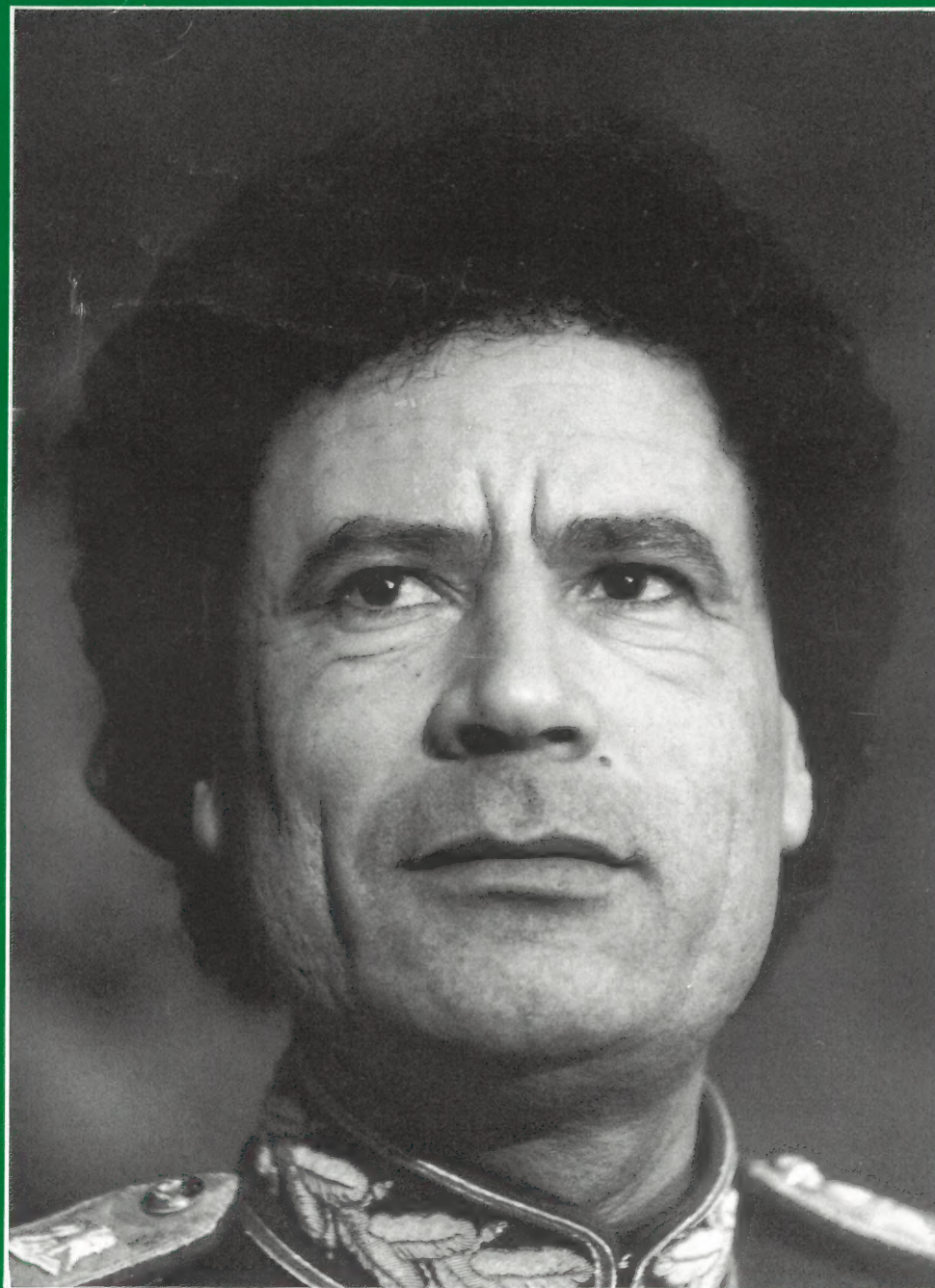
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of modern Libya.



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jamahiriyy review

November 1982

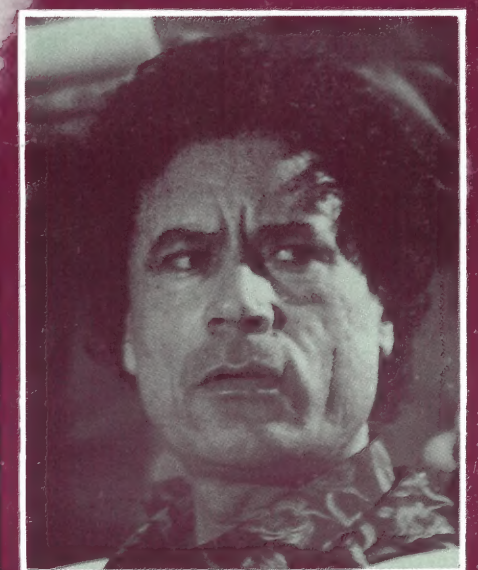
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Special Survey:
The United Nations

OAU Summit
confronting the
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Libyan Cultural Season staged in London



The clash of cultural values: Helena played by Annette Lynton and Victor, played by Rio Fanning, drink whisky and sunbathe in the heat of the desert, while at a distance Jaber, Taylor McAuley, prays to Allah for a safe journey.

LONDON WAS the scene of a series of events during October and November staged by the Union of Libyan Writers and Artists and presented as 'The Libyan Cultural Season in London'.

The season opened at the Shaw Theatre on 25th October with the premiere of 'The Gazelles', a play by one of the Jamahiriya's best known authors, Ahmed Fagih.

Set in the desert, 'The Gazelles' examined the conflict of cultures between Europeans and the Bedouin, and centred on the relationships which develop between two Europeans and their Bedouin

guide during a hunting party deep in the Sahara. With Faroukh el-Demerdash as director, and Khaled Bazelya as Executive Producer, Ahmed Fagih was able to draw on both his personal experiences as a Libyan and the many years he has spent in London, including those at the Libyan Embassy where, as Press Counsellor, he was able to observe Western values at close hand.

The three characters in 'The Gazelles' were played by Annette Lynton, Rio Fanning and Taylor McAuley (see photographs).

Meanwhile, at the Royal Over-Seas League, the Libyan artist Ali Omar Hermes provided an impressive presentation of his skills as a calligrapher and painter with a one week exhibition. This was not his first exhibition in London or Britain, although the standard of his paintings makes it surprising that he is not better known in the UK. He first exhibited at the Africa Centre in 1968, and subsequently worked as Visual Arts Consultant to the World of Islam Festival in London in 1974/5.

Ali Omar Hermes was also one of five experts who spoke in a series of lectures presented as part of the Libyan Cultural Season. Others included Ahmed Fagih, who examined 'The radical element in Libyan literature' and Dr Sabri Tabrizi who spoke on his impressions of revolutionary Libya following a recent visit to the Jamahiriya. Away from the cultural theme, Mr Louis Eaks and Dr Alan George, both contributors to *Jamahiriya Review*, spoke on the themes of the political democracy and economic development of modern Libya.

An opportunity to judge the development of the Jamahiriya's film-makers was provided on the last day of the season, when *Battle of Tagrifi* was shown. Presented by the Cinema Department in Tripoli and produced by the Administrative Committee for Revolutionary Information and Moral Guidance, the film is part of the Jamahiriya's efforts to reassess its heritage free from the interpretations and bias of a presentation from the viewpoint of the West. It tells the story of the heroic struggle waged by the Libyan people in their conflict with the forces of colonialist Italy, and draws on the research programme initiated since the Al Fateh Revolution to record an important era of Libyan history while survivors are still alive to tell of their personal experiences.



Courage and fear: As the play progresses, Victor has to stop ridiculing Jaber's faith. Helena panics in fear when she stumbles on the bones of men who have died in the desert. But Jaber is able to face death with dignity.

jamahiriya review

No 30

November 1982

□ **UNITED NATIONS:** Against the background of the 1982 International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people on 29th November, and the call from the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi for urgent reforms in the structure and control of the United Nations, a special five page survey is devoted to the working of the UN.

□ James McAllerton opens the survey on page 9 by reviewing the case for reform, and outlines the proposals advanced by the Libyan Jamahiriya to make the Security Council and the UN more representative of the international community.

Robert Miller reports on page 10 on the move by Libya and Iran to challenge Israel's presence in the United Nations, and explains the reasons why the Zionist state has lost any right to membership of the international forum, despite Washington's heavy-handed threats to cut off financial contributions from the United States.

In the General Assembly during October, the Libyan Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Secretary addressed the international community, and explained the priorities which Libyans believe must be resolved. The main points of his speech are examined on page 11.

The UN General Assembly has, over a period of years, provided a comprehensive definition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Their denial, by the Zionists and repeated American peace initiatives, is the very basis of the continuing conflict in the Middle East. On page 12, British Labour Member of Parliament Andrew Faulds examines the various UN resolutions, and accuses the Western nations of treating the international body with contempt.

□ **TRADE WITH BRITAIN:** In the latest report in our series on British companies trading with the Jamahiriya, Dr Alan George looks at the work of James Cubitt & Partners, whose work in designing Benghazi's Garyounis University has won international acclaim. See page 16.

□ **COVER:** The challenge of the apartheid regime in southern Africa, and progress in the field of economic development are expected to be the major issues before African leaders when they meet in Tripoli for the 1982 summit of the Organisation of African Unity. A full report and analysis of the summit will appear in the December issue.

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Peace plans for Palestine

WESTERN COMMENTATORS have been quick to applaud the Reagan plan for the Middle East conflict, and to welcome the Fez Charter adopted by the Arab Heads of State at the recent summit in Morocco. Of course, it was the same wise and informed observers who hailed President Sadat's mission to Israel and the subsequent Camp David accords as a major step in settling the Palestine conflict. Increasingly over recent months it has become recognised, or perhaps it is more accurate to say 'admitted' rather than 'recognised', that the Camp David process seriously impeded progress towards peace. As more critical observers pointed out at that time, the Camp David scheme opened new opportunities for the Zionists to consolidate their occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and assume a military role over a wider area of the Arab homeland, from Baghdad to Beirut.

It has never been explained why those who opposed the Camp David accords, and more recently rejected the Reagan and Fez plans, should be described as 'hardline' and 'extremist', while those who aid and abet the Zionists' ambitions and their resolute disregard for international conventions should be lauded as 'moderates' and 'peacemakers'. The Zionist invasion of Lebanon, a brutal and bloody operation by any standards of modern history, was a direct consequence of the Camp David accords; Israel was free to flaunt her military superiority as a direct result of Egyptian forces no longer playing their rightful and crucial role in Arab defences. Those who endorsed the Camp David process are just as guilty of the murder of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians this summer as any responsibility placed on Menachim Beigin or his war minister Ariel Sharon.

The Reagan plan hardly deserves analysis. It is patently unacceptable because it totally denies the Palestinian people their legitimate national rights... rights it should be emphasised which have been defined by the United Nations General Assembly. Reagan does not accept the Palestinians' right to an independent sovereign state nor to national self-determination. The plan announced by President Reagan, and drafted by Secretary of State Shultz, has a simple objective. Its aim is to produce the facade of American commitment to Arab rights without making any serious demands on the Zionists, other than withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza as a prelude to handing over Palestinian territory to King Hussein. In turn, the Hashemite monarch will assume control over the Palestinians. Why should Arab occupation of Palestine, and Arab suppression of Palestinian rights be more acceptable than the military occupation by Israel?

The Reagan plan also seeks to ease the problems facing the Arab regimes which were accomplices to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, those like the Fahd regime in Saudi Arabia which throughout the war in Lebanon blocked Arab efforts, notably by Libya, to mobilise an Arab defence force. The plan is being used to enable rulers like King Fahd and King Hussein to mislead their people into believing that the United States is really the friend of the Arab nation. Ignore, of course, the fact that Israel could never have embarked on its invasion of Lebanon, nor remained in occupation of Arab lands seized in 1948 and 1967, if the Zionists did not receive, and continue to receive, massive military aid and economic support from Washington, and this claim might have some logic. But examined objectively, it is total

nonsense to claim that the US is anything less than 100 per cent committed to the Zionists' schemes against the Arab homeland.

The Fez Charter, as the Fahd Plan is now grandly described, similarly holds the same dangerous implications for Arab security and defence as posed by the Camp David accords. Sadat declared that Egypt would no longer offer a military capacity to secure Arab rights. With Israeli forces now occupying Lebanon as far north as Beirut, and all of Palestine, it is obscene that the Arab regimes should discard preparations for military defence of their peoples while Israel so blatantly asserts its strategy against the Arabs based solely on military force.

If the implications were not so serious it would be ironic that, at a time when the Zionist regime of Menachim Beigin feels itself able to wholly ignore all international conventions, the Arab regimes should embark on a submissive plan to surrender to Israel. Why should Israel make even a single concession when the Arab regimes are operating a barely concealed surrender? Anyone who genuinely accepts that Zionist strategy is the real cause of the conflict in Palestine and the wider Arab homeland cannot accept the Fez charter as a positive step.

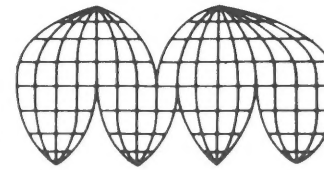
Of course, these views have been reflected in various speeches by Muammar Qadhafi and other members of the Libyan Jamahiriya's revolutionary leadership, and have been subjected to critical comment in the West, and by the media controlled by the Arab regimes committed to an indecent peace with the Zionists. There is hardly a monarch's or president's palace in the Arab homeland which is not occupied by a Quisling leader ready to secure their position by acting as a proxy ruler for Israel and the United States. If such Quisling regimes were rejected by the West during their war with Nazi Germany, why should they be recommended to the Arab nation today?

It should not need to be said, let alone explained, that Israel will continue to pose a threat to the Arab nation and peace in the Middle East so long as the Arab nation, or its rulers, refuse to mobilise a military defence force. There is no dignity in this shabby surrender to the Zionists, and certainly there is no justice either.

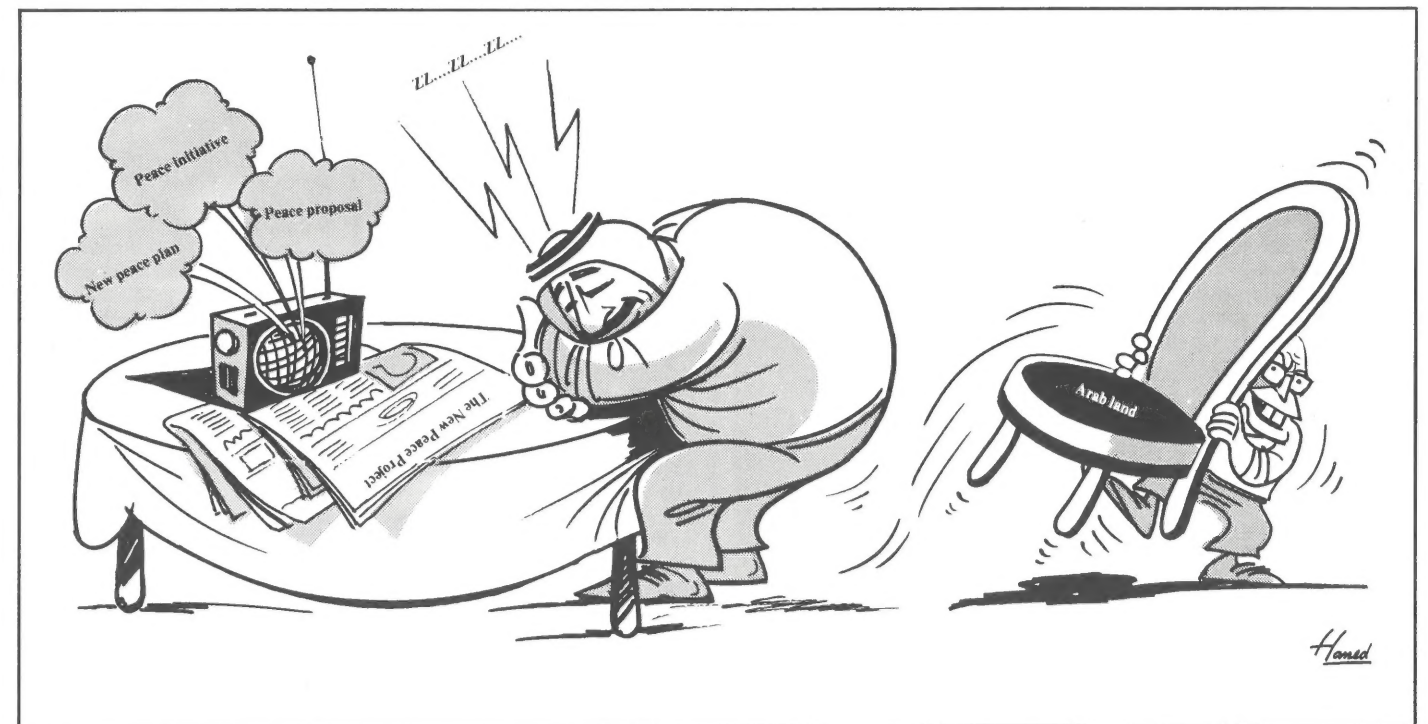
The American view of the Middle East conflict may be popular with western commentators today, just as Camp David was before. But when Israel has stabilised its control over Lebanon, and embarked on new aggressions against an ill-prepared Arab nation, probably with renewed heavy loss of civilians' lives amongst the Arab peoples, merely because the Arab regimes have denied their people any military defence, what comfort will these western commentators be able to offer. Merely to have been proven right will provide little satisfaction to critics of the current trend. But these critics have a duty and a supreme responsibility to continue to voice their opposition to the Reagan and Fez schemes, and to maintain their call to the Arab nation as a whole to rally behind a positive strategy based firstly on a strong Arab military capability, and a determination and a readiness to use it to regain occupied Arab lands and to restore Arab rights in Palestine. It is highly dangerous for Middle East and international peace to continue with this one-sided disarmament when faced with an enemy whose only understanding of international relations is based on military aggression.

Those who refuse to defend their people and their land do not serve the interests of peace.

A monthly
review of
Libyan, Islamic
and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review



African summit ready to convene in Tripoli

THE ORGANISATION of African Unity has announced that its 19th summit conference will convene in Tripoli, the Libyan capital, on 23rd November, and will be preceded by a meeting of African foreign ministers on 15th to 21st November.

Credit for ending the impasse which stalled the meeting earlier this year goes to the Saharan liberation movement Polisario, which has announced that it will not send a delegation to the Tripoli summit.

The Tripoli OAU summit in August was adjourned after failing to attract a quorum when some African leaders stayed away in protest at the earlier admission to OAU membership of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), proclaimed by the Polisario Front, which is fighting a liberation struggle for the freedom of the Moroccan-occupied former Spanish colony of Western Sahara. Differences over the SADR, however, were fanned by the United States in a bid to divide the African nations and deprive the Jamahiriya of the

honour of hosting the Nineteenth OAU Summit.

On 17th October Ethiopian President Haile Mengistu Mariam was welcomed to Libya by Muammar Qadhafi and other top officials, and he described as 'encouraging' the progress of the six-member OAU Liaison Committee set up to co-ordinate moves to reconvene the Tripoli summit.

Also in October, the Jamahiriya hosted visits by Upper Volta's President Saye Zerbo, Mr Salvino Manoel Dios, Foreign Minister of the Cape Verde Islands, and by the Mozambican Justice Minister, all of whom were similarly optimistic.

Consultations on reconvening the summit were also pursued during the UN General Assembly session in New York. On 6th October the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Obeidi attended a meeting at the UN headquarters of the six-member OAU Liaison Committee, and on 21st October JANA announced that Libya's Permanent Representative at the UN, Dr Ali Abdesalam Treiki had met with the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone, who assured him of the west African country's firm intention to attend a reconvened Tripoli summit.

Hopes for the Tripoli summit were sharply raised with a call on 22nd October by Nigerian

President Shugu Shagari for all African leaders to resolve their differences over the summit, for the sake of the OAU's wellbeing. Speaking after a round of talks with visiting Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, President Shagari said that the question of OAU membership for the SADR should be settled quickly so that the summit could reconvene without further delay. The President of the continent's most powerful independent African country stressed that the OAU was the only forum through which Africa had been able to address the world with one voice. He added that African leaders 'could not afford to let the Organisation die'.

Talks with Foreign Office officials

LIBYA WISHES to maintain relations on the basis of mutual respect with all countries prepared to reciprocate, but will shun nations that seek to intimidate or threaten the Jamahiriya, Muammar Qadhafi has told a visiting delegation from the Foreign Office in London, headed by Sir John Leahy, a Deputy Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office.

Relations between Libya and Britain have in the past been strained, but the Jamahiriya was encouraged by Britain's refusal to bow to US pressure by joining President Reagan's economic boycott of Libya, imposed in March this year. Both sides have expressed a wish to consolidate relations, and Sir John Leahy's delegation was in the Jamahiriya for talks on how best this might be attained.

Qadhafi visits Peking for talks

A NEW era in relations between the Jamahiriya and the People's Republic of China was inaugurated in October with a visit by Muammar Qadhafi to Peking for talks with the Chinese leadership. It was the latest sign in a rapprochement between Tripoli and Peking that has been gathering momentum throughout 1982, and which followed a period of cooler relations stemming from Chinese support for the Sadat regime in Egypt.

At a ceremony of welcome at Peking's Great Hall of the People, the Libyan leader stressed the need for closer links between China and Libya, at a time of increasing threats posed by the United States to the economic and



Muammar Qadhafi waves to Chinese children who welcomed the Libyan leader on his mission to Peking.

political independence of Third World and Non-Aligned countries.

Recalling the generous assistance given by Peking to Gamal Abdul Nasser's Egypt, and to the liberation struggle against the French in Algeria and the British in southern Yemen, Muammar Qadhafi declared that Third World liberation would be a lost cause without the backing of China's massive prestige and political influence.

In reply, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang stressed the important parallels between the two countries' outlooks. As a socialist, developing country, China followed an independent foreign policy and believed in equality between all countries, regardless of their size. He affirmed that China 'will support, as it has done in the past, the Arabs, especially the Palestinians, in their just struggle to repulse Zionist aggression and regain usurped Arab land and national rights, including the right to self-determination and to return to their homeland'.

The following day, the Libyan delegation, which included Chief of Staff Mustapha Kharroubi, Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, Secretary for Foreign Liaison, Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation Secretary Abu Zayd Umar Durdah, Economy and Light Industry Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa, and Communications Secretary al Bukhari Salim Hudah, met with Chinese ministers to discuss the formation

of a joint Libyan-Chinese committee to monitor and develop economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries.

The western media portrayed the Libyan leader's visit to Peking as being in some way designed as a 'snub' for Moscow, to protest at allegedly lukewarm Soviet support for the Palestinians during the Zionist invasion of Lebanon. But this overlooked the fact that Muammar Qadhafi stopped off in both Bulgaria and the southern Siberian city of Irkutsk on his way to China, and that after his talks in Peking, he returned to Tripoli via the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, where he held a round of talks with President Kim Il Sung, and Belgrade, where he met with Yugoslavian President Stambolic. The real purpose of the tour was to bolster ties with all sections of the socialist group of countries at a time of growing unease in the Third World at the dangerous course of US foreign policy.

Libya's position on relations with China was clearly stated in March this year, when Muammar Qadhafi told the inaugural meeting in Tripoli of the International Forum against Imperialism, Zionism, Racism and Reaction that China was admirably suited for membership in the body because of its status as a major Third World country that played a key deterrent role in safeguarding other people's independence.

Red Sea alliance reviews strategy

THE MILITARY and political crises facing the Arab nation after the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and the Fez summit in Morocco were major subjects of recent talks in Aden and Adis Ababa between Libya's Major Abdel Salam Jalloud and Presidents Ali Nasser Muhammad of Democratic Yemen and Haile Mengistu Mariam of Ethiopia. Also high on the agenda were the dangers posed by the recently announced plan for a merger between Egypt and Sudan.

The regimes in Cairo and Khar-toum are both firmly within the US orbit, and Cairo in addition maintains treaty relations with Israel. The new Nile Valley axis, dissecting the Arab homeland and thrusting deep into the heart of Africa, is viewed as a serious threat by neighbouring countries, who see it as a potential route for stepped-up US interference in their affairs.

While in the Ethiopian capital, Major Jalloud also discussed the progress of efforts aimed at reconvening last August's Tripoli summit of the Organisation of African Unity, and he attended meetings of the six-country OAU Liaison Committee, set up to co-ordinate pan-African moves to reconvene the summit.

The Committee, comprising the Libyan Jamahiriya, Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Mali and the Congo Republic, met on 30th September, with President Mariam as a full participant, and afterwards issued a communiqué affirming their intention to reconvene the Tripoli summit 'at an early date'.

The Libyan Jamahiriya is linked with Yemen and Ethiopia in the Red Sea alliance, formed in 1980 to counter US moves to expand its military foothold in the Arab region and north east Africa.

Arabic language 'has lost its meaning'

MUAMMAR QADHAFI has lamented the sad decline of the Arab nation in the years since the untimely death of the great Egyptian leader Gamal Abdul Nasser, and has called for resolute efforts to reverse the decay.

In a speech on 28th September marking the Twelfth Anniversary of Nasser's death, which coincides with the anniversary of the dissolution of the Egyptian-Syrian Union in 1961, the Libyan leader said that he would have liked to repeat what he had said on the same occasion the year

before but that 'words in Arabic have lost their meaning.' Since Nasser, he continued, 'only the term "Palestinian resistance" had continued to have meaning, and even this has now ceased to have any significance'.

Since Nasser's death, said Colonel Qadhafi, the Arab nation had 'become a nation of sheep, a widowed nation without a strong leader'. He nevertheless stressed his conviction that the Arab nation was not beyond redemption, but affirmed his belief that the time was ripe for action, not words. Only the appropriate action could 'bestow significance on the words describing it in this glorious Arabic language'.

Qadhafi spells out Arab priorities

IN A wide-ranging speech on 7th October, marking Vengeance Day, the Twelfth Anniversary of the expulsion of the Italian settler community from Libya, Muammar Qadhafi warned of the dangers facing the Arab nation after the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and the Arab regimes' sell-out of the Palestinian and Arab causes at the recent Fez summit in Morocco.

Reaffirming the call in his Revolution Anniversary speech for a total mobilisation of the Arab people to counter Zionist expansionism, Colonel Qadhafi said that the savagery of the battle of Beirut had highlighted the Zionists' hatred for the Arabs. It was clear that Israel would not stop at Beirut, but would advance until it had achieved domination over the entire region. 'Our people should rise up now, and say "No" to retreat, "No" to destruction, "No" to extinction and "No" to humiliation, whatever the price,' he declared.

The Libyan leader denounced as 'treasonous' the recent Arab summit in Fez, which the Jamahiriya had boycotted, and where Arab regimes had agreed to recognise the Zionist state, declaring: 'Those who met at Fez can neither decide the fate of the Arab nation nor express its will.' Noting that Israeli intransigence had not been modified by the Fez summit, Colonel Qadhafi said: 'This means that the Arab nation, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf, is now open for seizure by the Zionists.' He warned that Israel was 'intent on devastating the Arab nation' and was arming itself with that in mind.

The Egyptian regime's acquiescence in the invasion of Lebanon had underlined the extent to which it was under the control of Israel and the US, said Muammar Qadhafi. Egypt, he

added, could liberate itself and regain its role as a true confrontation state only by abrogating the Camp David accords. He warned that until the Cairo regime took such action, the Jamahiriya would have no option but to regard it as a threat to Libyan security.

The Libyan revolutionary leader spoke highly of the Palestinians' military performance in the Lebanese war, saying: 'The Palestinian resistance was the landmine that was hindering the enemy. They wanted to contain and destroy it so that they could advance unopposed, to occupy and destroy other Arab countries.' The Arabs, he added, should thank the Palestinians for resisting the Israelis, 'who are not only the enemies of the Palestinians but also of the entire Arab nation'.

The Libyan leader was speaking in the north eastern Jebel Akhdar region of the Jamahiriya, in the home village of the renowned Libyan resistance fighter Omar Mukhtar, who had led a stubborn twenty year struggle against the Italian invaders of Libya. Colonel Qadhafi began his address by paying tribute to Omar Mukhtar, commending the resistance fighter as 'a good example to follow'.

Libyan independence in 1961 had not brought freedom to the Libyan people, Muammar Qadhafi stressed. The large Italian settler community continued to hold key positions of power in the country, and retained the property seized from its rightful owners. It was only with the Italians' expulsion in 1970 that the Libyan resistance had finally triumphed over Rome's invasion.

Earlier, on 16th September, Libyans staged a mass rally at the coastal town of Soluk, near Benghazi, to commemorate the Fifty First anniversary of Omar Mukhtar's execution in the town at the hands of the Italian occupation army. Present at the rally were a number of Omar Mukhtar's comrades-in-arms, and highlights of the anniversary celebrations were a parade by Libyan cavalry and a drama sketch portraying the struggle against the Italians.

Polisario praises Libyan support

POLISARIO FRONT guerrillas, fighting for the independence of the Moroccan-occupied former Spanish colony of Spanish Sahara, have expressed their strong appreciation of the support extended to the Sahrawi people by the Libyan Jamahiriya. In a message to Muammar Qadhafi, the General People's Congress of the People's Committee of

Polisario, which met in southern Algeria from 12th to 16th October, declared its 'gratitude and appreciation' for Libya's support and solidarity, and pledged 'to remain with you along the path of armed struggle in defence of freedom and dignity'.

Later, Muammar Qadhafi held a round of talks in Tripoli with Mr Muhammad Abdelaziz, Secretary General of the Polisario Front.

Islamic missionaries meet in Malta

THE ISLAMIC Call Society of West Europe and the Americas held a seven-day conference in the Maltese capital Valetta in October, to discuss the progress of efforts to spread the Islamic faith. The society is a branch of the Tripoli-based Islamic Call Society, dedicated to missionary work throughout the world. Announcing the conference, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed on 6th October that an Islamic centre is soon to open in Valetta.

Westminster MPs welcome in Tripoli

CLOSER TRADE and political relations between Britain and the Jamahiriya were high on the agenda of talks in Tripoli on 22nd September between Libyan Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Obeidi and a visiting

British joint parliamentary-trade union delegation. Affirming the Jamahiriya's desire for closer ties with the British people, Mr Obeidi told his guests that Libya 'was looking for close popular links with all the peoples of the world, which would bring positive results and mutual benefits for all sides'.

The Libyan Secretary also briefed the British delegation on the Jamahiriya's position on the Arab summit at Fez, and on the Zionist state's invasion of Lebanon, stressing that no prospect was in view of an end to Israeli expansionism at the expense of the Arab nation.

The British mission comprised Labour Members of Parliament Ron Brown and Bob Edwards, John McFadden of the local government employees union NALGO and Alan Laing of the electricians' union EETPU. It also included Mr Tony Gilbert, Secretary-General of the London based anti-imperialist lobby group Liberation, which organised the mission to the Jamahiriya.

In a press conference screened on Libyan television, the delegation said they would do their utmost to convey to the British public an accurate picture of the Jamahiriya and the Libyan revolution, in contrast to what they admitted were distorted accounts of Jamahiriya affairs disseminated by the news media.

Africans discuss ethics

TRIPOLI WAS the venue in September for the first seminar organised by the African Institute for the Study of Ethics, at

which participants discussed a range of issues related to the moral dimension of international affairs. In his inaugural address, Dr Muhammad Ahmad al Sharif, Secretary-General of the Tripoli-based Islamic Call Society, stressed the need for a new commitment by the international community to conduct their affairs on the basis of respect for all peoples, regardless of their colour, location or wealth.

Dr Sharif said that international organisations such as the United Nations had been set up to safeguard the rights and dignity of man, but they had since degenerated into tools 'in the hands of the powerful, who manipulated them to serve their own interests. He warned that the future of mankind would continue to be threatened if the principles currently governing international conduct persisted.

Chief of Staff cements ties with East Europe

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S Chief of Staff, Brigadier Abu Bakr Younis Jaber, has paid important visits to Poland and Czechoslovakia, in a successful effort to boost ties with the socialist group of countries at a time when the Arab nation faces particularly acute dangers from Israeli and US expansionism. The Libyan Chief of Staff's mission follows September's successful visits to Warsaw and Prague by Muammar Qadhafi, during which wide-ranging friendship and co-oper-



Rallying behind Polisario banners: Sahrawi women fight for liberation.



BREZHNEV MOURNED: Leonid Brezhnev (seen above with the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi) died in Moscow on 10th November after two decades as Soviet Leader. A firm supporter of the Jamahiriya's non-alignment and an ally of Libya in the confrontation with the Reagan administration, Brezhnev guided the world to the era of detente, and despite the new aggressive stance of Washington, he remained committed to the cause of international peace, disarmament and Third World liberation.

ation treaties were concluded or agreed in principle.

Arriving in Warsaw on 15th October, Brig Jaber held a round of talks with the Polish Defence Minister and with the Chairman of the Polish Armed Forces General Staff. The following day he met with Poland's Deputy Premier, and later was received by General Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation. Stressing that the Jamahiriya had made an irrevocable decision to confront the Zionist onslaught against the Arab nation, Brig Jaber told the Polish leader that Libya considered the support and assistance of east European countries to be vital.

From Warsaw, the Libyan Chief of Staff went on to Prague for two days of meetings with Czechoslovak leaders, including Mr Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Czech Communist Party, the Defence Minister, the Deputy Foreign Minister and the Chief of Staff.

Military collaboration was an important aspect of Brig Jaber's talks in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and in both countries he visited military and air force academies where Libyan cadets are undergoing training.

In another move in October to strengthen the Jamahiriya's ties with east Europe, Mr Bukhari Salim Hoda, the Secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee for Communications and Marine Transport, visited Prague and signed a series of trade and scientific agreements with Czechoslovak Premier Stanislav Razl.

Similar agreements were concluded between Libya and Poland during Muammar Qadhafi's visit to Warsaw in September.

Backing for Azanian struggle

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S full support for the people of Azania (South Africa) was expressed during a meeting in Tripoli on 20th October between Mr Abdel Ati al Obeidi, Libya's Foreign Liaison Secretary, and Mr John Pokela, Chairman of the Pan-Africanist Congress for the Liberation of South Africa, one of the liberation movements fighting the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

In reply, Mr Pokela expressed his appreciation for Libya's firm backing for the Azanian liberation struggle, saying that it was a crucial factor in bolstering the morale of those suffering under the policies of apartheid.

Co-operation with Cuba

MORE THAN 3,000 Cubans are working in the Jamahiriya in construction, industry and agriculture, Mr Muhammad Ali al Ajili, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Havana has disclosed. In an interview with Havana radio on 9th September Mr al Ajili said that the number

of Cubans working in Libya was expected to increase in the coming months, while several youth delegations from the Jamahiriya would visit Cuba next year to take part in industrial and agricultural training programmes.

The close ties between Cuba and Libya were highlighted on 15th September when Mr Levi Farah, the Cuban Minister of Construction, arrived in Tripoli for a visit to the Jamahiriya.

International Day for Eradicating Drugs

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has proposed an International Day for the Eradication of Drugs, the Director of the UN Information Centre in Tripoli has disclosed. Speaking on 24th October at a ceremony to mark the Thirty Seventh Anniversary of the enactment of the UN Charter, the Director also recalled that it was the Jamahiriya that had proposed both the designation of 1981 as the International Year of the Disabled and the annual International Day of Solidarity with the Peoples of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa.

Dependency on drugs manufactured in the industrialised Western nations amongst Third World peoples is being viewed with increasing concern by UN and international health agencies.

Libya 'neutral in Chad conflict'

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has no intention of intervening in the renewed fighting in Chad, Muammar Qadhafi has affirmed. Addressing a Tripoli news conference in early October, Colonel Qadhafi noted that no stable government had yet emerged in Chad. 'A year ago we thought that Goukouni Oueddei's regime had become stable, but it collapsed,' he said. 'A few months ago we thought that Hissene Habre's regime had stabilised, but the civil war has since erupted again.' However, the Libyan leader stressed that whatever the course of the fighting, 'our stand is neutral in this conflict'.

The Libyan Jamahiriya has maintained close relations with France since President Mitterrand's Socialist Party came to power last year, but Colonel Qadhafi made clear Libya's distaste for the recent conference in the Zaire capital Kinshasa of former French colonies in Africa, attended by the French President. 'We are against the idea of a group of French speaking countries, because such a grouping represents a continuation of French colonialism and French hegemony in Africa,' he declared.

Libya's relations with the United States, by contrast, have become very strained since President Reagan took office in 1980. In fact, this is a problem shared by many countries, including the EEC and NATO countries, who resent Reagan's Cold War tactics. At the time, Muammar Qadhafi expressed the Jamahiriya's desire for close relations with the American people, but he stressed that these could only develop on the basis of mutual respect. The US, however, spurned the Libyan approach, and launched a series of military and economic provocations, culminating in the attack on Libyan fighters in the Jamahiriya's air space over the Gulf of Sirte last year, and the imposition of an economic blockade on the Jamahiriya early in 1982.

At the Tripoli press conference, Muammar Qadhafi nevertheless reiterated Libya's long-standing position. The Jamahiriya, he noted, was a neutral country that played a leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement, but it did not shun relations with the big powers. 'Unfortunately, however, America wants us to be its slaves, not its friends. The US has either slaves or enemies, and we refuse to be its slaves.'

Therefore it classifies us as an enemy,' explained Muammar Qadhafi, noting that 'The decision is America's, not Libya's.'

IF THE United Nations is ever to assert itself as a real force in world affairs, fundamental reforms will be needed in its decision-making procedures, bringing a greater role for the Third World countries that have gained independence since the Second World War, when the basic structures of the UN were created by the world war victors, to suit their own interests. This was the key message of an address to the UN General Assembly on 6th October by Mr Abdel Ati al Obeidi, the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Secretary, who also stressed the threat to world peace posed by the expansionist policies of both Israel and its main backer, the United States.

The failure of the UN to play an effective role, in accordance with its Charter, was above all 'due to the veto right enjoyed by the Second World War victors' club in the Security Council, who exploit this right to protect their interests and power balance,' declared Mr Obeidi, adding: 'Their irresponsible use of the veto flies in the face of democratic principles.' More than 150 UN member countries had been 'placed at the mercy of the Permanent Members of the Security Council'. Elementary justice called for the Security Council to be accountable to the General Assembly, and not the reverse.

Mr Obeidi recalled that the Libyan Jamahiriya had put forward a number of proposals to amend or rescind the veto system, including a suggestion that greater authority should be given to General Assembly resolutions that commanded a two-thirds majority. Most of the largest UN powers, however, had stubbornly rejected any reform, and in some cases had pressured their smaller Third World clients into toeing the same intransigent line.

The Jamahiriya would nevertheless remain committed to its firm stand on the veto question, so long as the big powers, particularly the US, persisted in abusing the system to thwart the progress of liberation movements that threatened their hegemony, the Foreign Liaison Secretary affirmed.

Excesses

Mr Obeidi went on to urge members to take effective, practical action to curb the excesses of the Zionist state, whose expansionism posed a major threat to world security. Israel's aggressive instincts had been dramatically highlighted by the invasion of Lebanon and the massacres of Palestinian civilians in the Beirut refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. It was imperative that the world community take effective measures to halt Zionist expansion, and end the occupation of Palestine, thus enabling the dispossessed Palestinian people to return to their homeland.

The Foreign Liaison Secretary urged the imposition on Israel of a comprehensive series of diplomatic and economic sanctions, in accordance with a General Assembly resolution adopted during the recent special session called to consider the invasion of Lebanon. The Zionist state, he

Obeidi calls for UN reform



Sahrawi people's rights must be respected.

A CALL for reform of United Nations decision-making procedures and warnings of the threat to world peace by Israel and the United States were major topics of an address by the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Secretary to the recent Thirty Seventh Session of the UN General Assembly.

said, should be expelled from the United Nations for its repeated violations of the world body's Charter. He called for an end to the massive US military, financial and political support for the Zionists, which encouraged and underpinned their expansionism. In addition, the international community should impose trade sanctions on Israel, said Mr Obeidi.

Turning to the role of the US in undermining international security, Mr Obeidi said: 'Under the Reagan administration, the US has intensified its intervention in, and pressure on, the Arab nation so as to

realise political, economic and military hegemony over it. It has returned to the policy of establishing military bases overseas. It has deployed its naval fleets to threaten non-aligned countries.'

The Libyan Jamahiriya had been a particular target for US interference, said Mr Obeidi, recalling the Gulf of Sirte incident in 1981, when US warplanes had violated Libyan airspace and attacked two of the Jamahiriya's fighters. A US spy-plane, he added, had intruded Libyan airspace as recently as the beginning of September this year. Washington had mounted a slanderous disinformation campaign, aimed at discrediting the Jamahiriya and its revolutionary leadership. It had imposed an economic embargo on Libya, and incited other countries to follow suit.

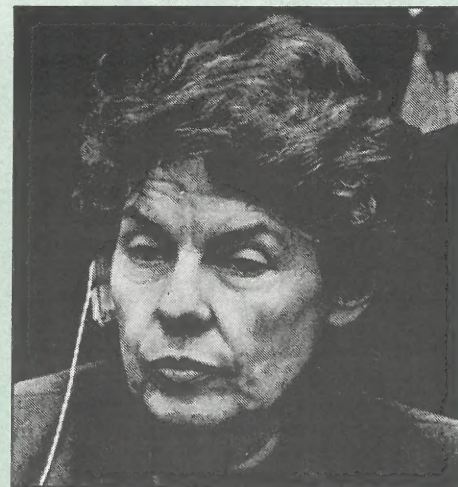
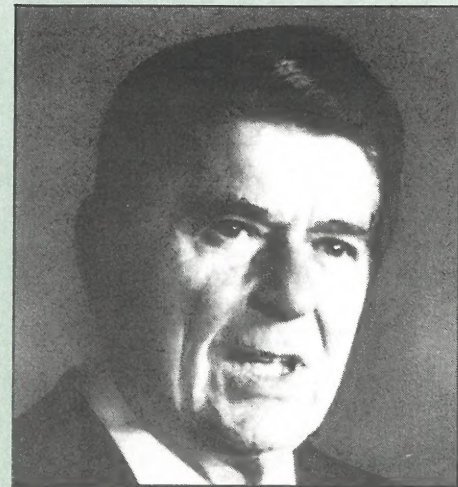
Imperialist

Similar efforts by the US to undermine the independence of Third World countries were under way in the Caribbean and in southern Africa. Under the Reagan administration, declared Mr Obeidi, Washington had 'affirmed its imperialist nature, directed at creating centres of tension and instability'.

Reaffirming Libya's commitment to the South African and Namibian people's struggle for freedom and self-determination, Mr Obeidi deplored the continuing grip of the apartheid regime in Pretoria, and noted that UN condemnations of its racist ideology and practices had proved ineffectual. In Namibia, 'Pretoria's racist, illegitimate regime is continue its policy of subjugating the black people and looting the region's wealth, in co-operation with the western multinational companies.'

Mr Obeidi stressed the need for a resolution of the conflict in the Western Sahara, where fighters of the Polisario Front are waging a tenacious guerrilla war for the independence of the former Spanish colony, occupied by Morocco after the Spanish evacuation in 1975. The question, he said, was one of the most pressing on the agenda of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), and he warned that the US was using the issue as a lever to threaten the integrity of the pan-African body. Mr Obeidi urged the OAU to 'shoulder its responsibility by stressing the right of the Sahrawi people to self-determination in their own land'.

The Mediterranean, warned the Libyan Foreign Liaison Secretary, was undergoing a period of unprecedented tension because of a rapid build-up of foreign, and particularly US, military forces. US fleets and bases, he said, 'have become a source of anxiety and a factor for subversion, threatening the Mediterranean countries. The American Sixth Fleet persistently conducts provocative manoeuvres along the Libyan coast, sometimes in the Jamahiriya's territorial waters'. The Mediterranean, he stressed, should be transformed into 'a zone of peace, free from foreign fleets and bases'.



Protecting Israel: US President Ronald Reagan and Washington's Ambassador to the UN Jean Kirkpatrick always ready to use the veto.

US blackmail saves Israel from expulsion

OCTOBER SAW moves by the Arab group of countries at the United Nations to bar Israel from its seat in the General Assembly in response to the Zionist state's persistent violations of the world body's Charter. Faced with US threats to boycott the UN and withdraw its financial support if its client state were penalised, however, the Arabs reluctantly agreed to defer their action. Israel still clings to its membership of the UN, but after the bloody invasion of Lebanon and the massacres in Beirut the case for the expulsion of the Zionist state has never been stronger.

Countries that join the United Nations formally agree to abide by the UN Charter. Chapter One of the Charter sets out the purposes and principles of the world body, and Article Two of the Charter states: 'All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner than international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.' It adds: 'All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.'

Article Four of Chapter Two is clear that 'Membership of the United Nations is open to all peace loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and in the judgement of the Organisation, and are able and willing to carry out these obligations.' The procedure for penalising states that defy the UN Charter is set out clearly in the same Chapter: 'A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organisation by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.'

There is precious little evidence that

FACED WITH an attempt by the Arab group of countries at the UN to oust the Zionist state from the world body in retaliation for its persistent violations of the UN Charter, the United States responded with threats to pull out of the United Nations and cut off its financial contributions.

Robert Miller examines the case for Israel's expulsion.

Israel has ever subscribed seriously to its commitments under the UN Charter. The very establishment of the Zionist state on the homeland of the Palestinian Arabs entailed flagrant violations of the principles underlying the UN, and Israel was admitted only because of determined lobbying by the United States at a time when UN membership was limited and most members were economically dependent on Washington. Even then, Israel's admission to the UN was conditional on its allowing the exiled Palestinians to return to their homes and property, and despite having given a firm undertaking to that effect, the Zionists have persistently refused to take action.

Having been established through a campaign of aggression and terror that flew in the face of all the accepted norms of civilised international behaviour, the Zionist state has never looked back. The unprovoked invasion of Lebanon, resulting in the deaths of some 20,000 Palestinians and Lebanese, almost all civilians, was only the most recent in a string of outrages against the Palestinian and Arab peoples. In 1956 there was the tripartite Israeli-French-British assault on Presi-

dent Nasser's Egypt; in 1967 the June war, when the Zionists occupied the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, the Syrian Golan Heights and the Palestinian regions of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In addition to these major expansionist wars, Israel has launched countless bloody attacks on Palestinian refugee camps in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, resulting in heavy loss of life.

Veto

A UN member state can be formally expelled from the world body only by a vote in the General Assembly, following a resolution of the Security Council. But with the United States ensconced in the Security Council as a Permanent Member with the right to veto any resolution with which it disagrees, there is little prospect of effective action against Israel.

There is another route by which the Zionist state could effectively be excluded from the United Nations, and it has the advantage of by-passing the US veto in the Security Council. Each year, and normally as a formality, the General Assembly reviews the credentials of its members. This year, however, the Arab group had planned to challenge the credentials of the Israeli delegation. Such action was successfully taken against that other renegade, South Africa, eight years ago. Although the apartheid state nominally remains a UN member, it is barred from the deliberations of the General Assembly.

The way in which the United States countered the threat to its protege underlined the moral and legal bankruptcy of Israel's policies. Washington refused to argue the case on its merits, in accordance with accepted procedures, and chose instead to use blackmail. On 18th October, as the Arab diplomatic campaign gathered momentum, US Secretary of State George Schultz declared that if Israel's credentials were blacked, the US would pull out of the United Nations and cease paying its annual contribution of \$180 million — amounting to 25 per cent of the world body's income. Turning the facts on their head, Schultz asserted that a suspension of Israel's UN membership would be 'contrary to the principles of the United Nations' and 'a clear-cut violation of the UN Charter'.

Washington may have succeeded in holding the UN line for Israel, but the Zionist state and its principal backer cannot view the future with confidence. Announcing the deferment of moves to suspend Israel's credentials, Mr Abdel Salam Treiki, the Libyan Jamahiriya's Permanent Representative at the UN, and current Chairman of the Arab group, stressed on 22nd October that if the Zionists continued flouting UN resolutions such as those calling for its withdrawal from the occupied Golan Heights and from Lebanon, the Arab countries would next year revive their campaign for Israel's expulsion from the General Assembly.

THE PRINCIPLE of equality between all member countries is enshrined in the UN Charter, but the world body's decision-making procedures give a disproportionately powerful role to the Security Council, and particularly to the Big Powers that hold seats as Permanent Members. Third World countries are growing increasingly exasperated at a system that excludes them from meaningful participation in UN deliberations, and which is used to advance the interests of the Permanent Members of the Security Council, regardless of the implications for world peace.

Real power in the United Nations rests with the 15-member Security Council, whose decisions are binding on all UN members. General Assembly resolutions, by contrast, carry only moral force. The Security Council's powers fly in the face of the most elementary principles of democracy, and amount to a system of dictatorship by a minority.

Even worse, when establishing the UN after the Second World War, the Big Powers arrogated to themselves special privileges in the Security Council, designed to perpetuate their influence in the world. The United States, Soviet Union, France, Britain and, at America's insistence, the Chinese republic of Chiang Kai Chek appointed themselves as Permanent Members (Taiwan was ousted, and replaced by the Chinese People's Republic in 1971). The other ten seats on the Security Council rotate every two years.

In addition, the Permanent Members gave themselves the right to veto any Security Council decision that did not suit their own, often narrow interests. If the Security Council as a whole is an example of dictatorship by a minority, the veto amounts to a dictatorship practised by individual countries.

Blame

Responsibility for the inequalities at the UN must be borne by all its Big Power founders, but the US is particularly to blame. It emerged from World War II far stronger than the other major powers and used its economic influence to secure international acquiescence in a world body whose structure was especially advantageous to itself and the West. From the start, the US perceived the UN as a body whose purpose was to confer a spurious cloak of legitimacy on Washington's global adventures.

The special privileges of the Security Council and its Permanent Members clash with key principles set out in the UN Charter. In the document's preamble, members 'reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small'. Article 1 of the Charter is just as unequivocal, stating one of the UN's purposes to be: 'to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples'.



UN peacekeeping forces: Important work obstructed.

Making the United Nations work for peace

DESPITE THE assertion of the UN Charter that all member countries are equal, the Big Powers, headed by the United States, enjoy undue influence at the world body through their roles as Permanent Members of the Security Council and their veto rights. James McAllerton reviews the case for reform, and outlines the proposals advanced by the Libyan Jamahiriya.

The undemocratic decision-making structure of the UN has long been a source of concern to the developing countries of the Third World against whom it is directed. Since the 1969 Revolution when Libya ceased being a US client state, it has played a prominent role in seeking reform to make the UN's decisions reflect more accurately the views of all its members.

The Libyan position was set out most recently in September, in a letter from Muammer Qadhafi to the UN Secretary General, in which the Libyan leader urged a reversal of the current relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council. General Assembly resolutions, he argued, should be binding on the Security Council, and not vice versa. The veto rights of the Permanent Members should be abolished. He added that if there was no reform to ensure that the Security Council acted in accordance with the UN Charter, he would recommend the Libyan Jamahiriya's withdrawal from the UN, and launch a new and more democratic 'organisation of small united nations'.

Lame

Libya was prompted to step up its efforts to reform the UN by the world body's lame response to the savage Israeli invasion of Lebanon, in which the Zionist state flagrantly violated the UN Charter. The voting record of the US in the Security Council showed clearly how open the current system is to abuse by Big Powers intend on pursuing their interests even at the cost of heightening world tension.

On 9th June, shortly after the start of the invasion, the US vetoed a Security Council resolution condemning the Zionist state for ignoring earlier UN calls for a withdrawal of Israeli troops, and which threatened sanctions in the event of continued non-compliance. All fourteen other Security Council members voted in favour.

On 26th June the Americans confirmed their open support for the Israeli aggression by vetoing a resolution calling for a disengagement of forces in Beirut and for the interposition of the Lebanese army. Again all other Security Council members approved the resolution, including such US allies as Britain and France.

The extent to which the US was defying world opinion was underlined by the parallel deliberations of the General Assembly. The same day as the US vetoed the modest resolution demanding a troop disengagement in Beirut, the General Assembly approved by 142 votes to two (Israel and America) a resolution demanding an immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops and calling for consideration of sanctions if Israel did not comply.

As Muammer Qadhafi said in his letter to Secretary General Peres de Cuellar, 'The Security Council has become a Council for American and Israeli national security.'



Consequences of Zionism: Palestinians forced from their homes

Palestine: Arab rights that Israel denies

THE PALESTINE conflict, and the tragedy and misery which it has inflicted on the Palestinian people, is without doubt the result of international actions which have sought to deprive the Palestinian people of their rights in their homeland. And equally without doubt, it is a problem which will be solved only when the international community acts together to ensure that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are respected and enforced.

It is fashionable in the West today to denigrate the United Nations, and in particular the General Assembly; to argue that the General Assembly, and thereby the UN as a whole, is a body composed largely of delinquent regimes whose prime purpose is to undermine the supposedly 'civilised' standards of the West, and especially of the United States. However, any examination of the 'inalienable rights of the Palestinian people' must create questions which are critical not of the General Assembly but of those western powers which have displayed contempt for the efforts of the Assembly to secure a just solution to the Palestine question, and pursued policies based on the political expediency and the self-interest of political leaders, rather than morality and justice.

The Palestine question has been a recurring subject of debate and discussion in the General Assembly and its committees since the foundation of the UN more than three and a half decades ago. In that time a consensus has emerged to provide a clear and unequivocal definition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The Right of Return

When the Zionist state was declared in Palestine in 1948, 750,000 Palestinian Arabs had been driven from their homes and property to face a life as refugees and exiles. It was immediately clear to the United Nations that this massive dispossession of Palestinians could only

UN GENERAL Assembly resolutions are not binding on member countries, but they do carry great moral weight as expressions of world opinion. Andrew Faulds MP traces the development of the General Assembly's position on the rights of the Palestinian people.

contribute to tensions and conflict in the region. As early as 11th December 1948 the General Assembly declared in Resolution 194 (III) that it:

'Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.'

The following year, on 11th May 1949, Israel was admitted to the United Nations. The Zionist state's admission to the UN was unique in that the recommendation was, in part, conditional on Israel's respect for Resolution 194, and the right of the dispossessed Palestinians to return to their homes and property.

Since 1948, Resolution 194 has been recalled annually by the General Assembly, but it has never been implemented.

The right of self-determination

Although the right of the Palestinian

people to return to their homes and properties from which they had been expelled, first in 1948 and again in 1967 (added to which we must include those who have been arbitrarily expelled by the Zionist forces throughout the periods between the major wars), was recognised as early as 1948, and other inalienable rights of the Palestinian people have been subsequently defined by the General Assembly.

The 1967 War, in which arab territory on the West Bank, Gaza Strip, in Sinai and the Golan Heights fell under Israeli military occupation, provided a period of reassessing the Palestine question and the principles on which a solution to the conflict should be secured.

A most important development in the definition of Palestinian rights came in resolution 2535 B of 10th December 1969, adopted by the General Assembly to extend the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). The General Assembly affirmed that the problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees

'has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights to self-determination under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.'

The Resolution said that the General Assembly,

'Desirous of giving effect to its resolutions for relieving the plight of displaced persons and the refugees, 'Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine.'

The recorded vote on this discussion was 48 states in favour, 22 against (including the United States and Israel) and 47 abstentions.

The following year the General Assembly stated even more unequivocally its views on Palestinian self-determination. Resolution 2672 (Section C) stated that the Assembly:

1. Recognises that the people of Palestine are entitled to equal rights and self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

2. Declares that full respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The shift in international opinion over the years is shown by a comparison of the voting figures on Section C of Resolution 2672 in 1970 (47 in favour, 22 against, and 50 abstentions) with those recorded in the 1973 vote on Section D of Resolution 3089 (87 in favour, 6 against — Barbados, Israel, Costa Rica, USA, Bolivia and Nicaragua, and 33 abstentions).

This 1973 resolution stated, in Section D, that the General Assembly:

1. Expresses once more its grave concern that the people of Palestine has been deprived of its inalienable rights and from exercising its inalienable right to self-determination;

2. Declares that full respect for and realisation of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, particularly its right to self-determination, are indispensable for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and that the enjoyment by the Palestinian Arab refugees of their right to return to their homes and property, recognised by the General Assembly in Resolution 194 (III) of 11th December 1948, which has been repeatedly reaffirmed by the General Assembly since that date, is indispensable for the achievement of a just settlement of the refugee problem and the exercise by the people of Palestine of its right to self-determination.

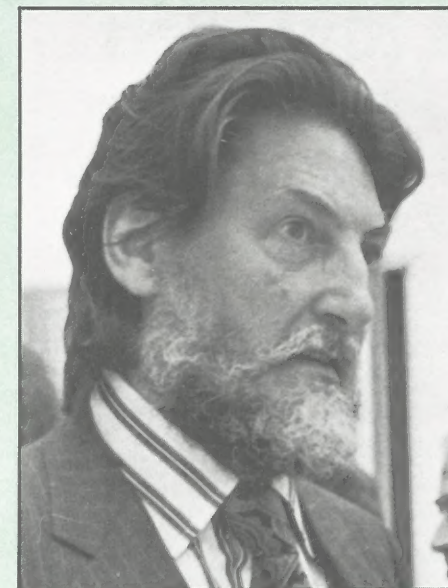
Here the General Assembly makes clear its linkage between the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and their right to return to Palestine. This is important, because too often plans aimed at resolving the Palestine question which make some recognition of the Palestinian peoples' right to self-determination are framed within the limitations of self-determination for those Palestinians who have remained in Palestine under Israeli military occupation; no account is made in these schemes for the return of the Palestinian refugees.

Since the 1973 vote on Resolution 3089 there have been further refinements of the General Assembly's definition of the 'inalienable rights of the Palestinian people'. In particular, in November 1974, the Assembly's Resolution 3236 declared these to be:

'the right to self-determination without external interference',

and,

'the right to national independence and sovereignty.'



Andrew Faulds: Justice for the Palestinian people.

Here we can see clearly a conflict between the view of the international community, expressed through the General Assembly, and those who propose such forms of limited autonomy for the Palestinian people as those outlined in the Camp David accords. Resolution 3236 also restated the Palestinians' inalienable right 'to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted', and referred to the Palestinians as a 'principal party' in the establishment of a just peace, describing the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) as 'the representative of the Palestinian people'.

In 1980, when the General Assembly convened in special session, further refinements of the international community's view of the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination were expressed in Resolution ES-7/2. This declared explicitly that the Palestinian people have the 'right to establish its own independent sovereign state', and stipulated 'the right of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the representative of the Palestinian people, to participate on an equal footing in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East'.

It further linked the 'attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people' with the territories seized by Israel in the 1967 War. Resolution ES-7/2 stated that a comprehensive, just and lasting Middle East peace could not be established,

'without the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Palestinian and other territories, including Jerusalem, and without the achievement of a just solution of the problem of Palestine on the basis of the attainment of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine.'

This resolution sets the international community not only in harmony with the

current proposals for a Palestinian state put forward by the PLO, but in conflict with the declarations of the Zionist establishment under Menachim Beigin to the effect that Israel will not withdraw from the 1967-occupied territories on the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and that if a Palestinian state is to be established it should be elsewhere than in Palestine, such as the current emphasis of Israeli policy statement that Jordan should become the Palestinian state.

Resolution ES-7/2 states quite unequivocally the rights of the Palestinian people. Paragraph 3:

'reaffirms the inalienable right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property in Palestine, from which they have been displaced or uprooted and calls for their return.'

Paragraph 4:

'reaffirms also the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people, including:

(a) The right to self-determination without external interference, and to national independence and sovereignty;
(b) The right to establish its own independent sovereign state.'

Resolution ES-7/2 was adopted in the General Assembly by 112 in favour, 7 against, and 24 abstentions.

There is one further right of the Palestinian people, recognised by the General Assembly of the United Nations which is worthy of mention.

The right to resist

On 30th November 1970, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 2649, which specifically referred to Palestine and South Africa, and affirmed:

'The legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination, recognised as being entitled to the right of self-determination, to restore to themselves that right by any means at their disposal.'

This was again affirmed by 76 votes to 10, with 33 abstentions in Resolution 2787 on 6th December 1971, and moreover, in 1974, 89 states supported Resolution 3236 which 'appeals to all states and international organisations to extend their support to the Palestinian people in its struggle to restore its rights.'

An examination of General Assembly resolutions, therefore, shows recognition by the international community of the following rights of the Palestinian people:

1. The inalienable right to return to their homes and property, or to compensation;
2. The inalienable right to self-determination without external interference;
3. The inalienable right to national independence and sovereignty;
4. The inalienable right to restore their rights by any means at their disposal.

□ This article is based on an address delivered to a recent United Nations seminar in Malta.

LIBYA'S OIL market pragmatism of late has earned it the disapproval of some OPEC countries, but it is bringing rich rewards in terms of oil revenue. Over the first half of the year production averaged less than 750,000 barrels per day (b/d) and revenues barely topped \$4 billion. For the second half, the government planned to lift 1.1 million b/d, but by September the average was up to 1.5 million b/d and by late October 1.7 million b/d was being lifted.

This is good news for Libya and good news for her international trading partners: second-half revenue, if production should average just 1.3 million b/d, will top \$7 billion, giving an annual total of more than \$11 billion. The 26 per cent decline from the \$14.9 billion of 1981 is serious, but not as drastic as had been feared. Exporters at a recent Confederation of British Industry conference in London concluded that key projects in the 1981-85 development plan could still go ahead.

But more of Libya's external trade is being placed with Eastern bloc countries. Apart from political inclinations, the Jamahiriya prefers to deal direct with the state oil companies of consuming nations, and it is happy to accept barter deals if the buyer is short of hard currency. Barter deals have the advantage (from Libya's standpoint) of non-transparency: it is usually impossible for an outsider to discover the effective price being charged for the oil. Very often, even the volume of oil cannot be discerned accurately.

Under the new turn of pragmatism, barter deals have been supplemented by more open discounting. It is common knowledge among traders that up to \$3/barrel is discounted at source, ensuring that Libya's light, low-sulphur crudes are attractive even in a flat market. (The Libyan authorities have title to 72% of the country's production, and thus has great scope to influence sales.) The attraction of the companies' shares of crude, making up the balance, has already been boosted by a series of individually-negotiated agreements which effectively lower the companies' costs.

However, the world market for light, good-quality crudes such as Libya's is now very different from that in the past. In the 1960s and 1970s, refiners in Europe and the United States were happy to pay high prices for the occasional consignment of light crude, needed to meet peak demands for gasoline (petrol). With a base-load of relatively cheap crude — Middle East oil in the case of European refiners, US domestic production in the case of American refiners — they could average their input costs.

Demand

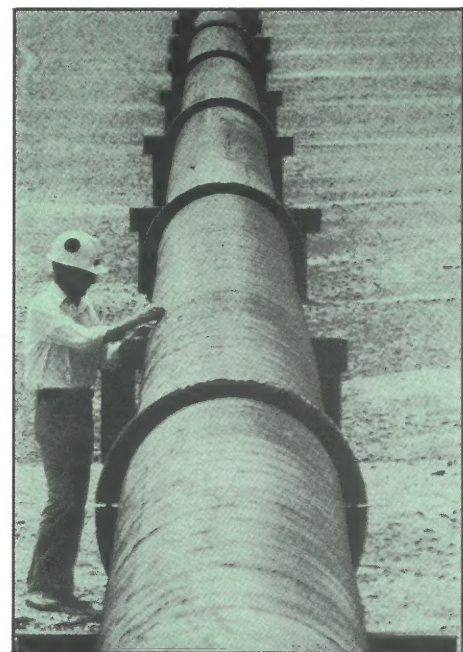
Three important factors have changed this situation. First, world demand for oil has fallen, resulting in refineries working at only 60-70 per cent of capacity and with scope to meet seasonal demand swings without undue difficulty. Second,

Guarded optimism for oil industry

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya oil production has been significantly affected by the world oil glut, but as Martin Quinlan, Regional Editor Europe/Africa of the specialist *Petroleum Economist* magazine, demonstrates, the outlook is now improving.

refiners have installed much new catalytic cracking capacity over the past few years and there are many projects still under construction. Such facilities allow gasoline demand to be met using cheaper, medium-gravity crudes. The high volume of fuel oil given by such crudes on distillation is used as catcracker feedstock; fuel oil is valued at around \$170/tonne, while gasoline is worth \$340/tonne and most crackers cost in the range of \$50-120/tonne to operate. The process is thus very profitable.

The third factor is the very sizeable increase in non-OPEC light crude production — which generally is sold at prices which effectively undercut OPEC light crudes. In 1975, the two most important non-OPEC light crude sources were the North Sea and Mexico; the former (UK plus Norway) was flowing 200,000



Oil flow will increase

b/d and Mexico was producing 800,000 b/d. That 1 million b/d total has now increased to no less than 5.7 million b/d, with the North Sea accounting for 2.6 million b/d and Mexico 3.1 million b/d.

These non-OPEC crudes are produced near to the markets which consume them, under governments which have commitments to high level of production and to competitive prices. The impact on the market for OPEC's light streams is profound — as evidenced by the fall in Libyan output from 2.0-2.1 million b/d in the years 1977-79 to 1.8 million b/d in 1980 and 1.1 million b/d in 1981.

Optimism

But while the market outlook is unfavourable, there are grounds for guarded optimism over Libya's prospects as an oil producer. The Sirte basin, still the country's only producing area, has proved to be a remarkably prolific oil and gas province. Even after 20 years of production — the first field, Zelten, came on stream in September 1961 — such figures as are available indicate that Sirte is still a good wildcatting prospect. And there is much exploration in new areas still to be carried out.

The problem is that very little exploration work is being done. Companies argue that the political risks are too great to justify major spending on new prospects; instead, they are carrying out enough work to safeguard the immediate future and to keep the Libyan authorities happy. Libya's 'enforced exploration' policy of several years ago, under which buyers had to take exploration acreage in order to keep their purchase contracts, failed with the failing market.

Evidencing the potential for new exploration is Agip's major Bouri field, in the offshore near the recently-defined border with Tunisia. (Libya is an exception among oil producers in having no offshore output; work in the western offshore was held up by the border dispute, but much of the rest of the coastline is still to be appraised. The Bouri field is estimated to have reserves of 500 million barrels — larger than many North Sea fields lying in deeper and less accessible waters. Agip has awarded a development contract for Bouri to John Brown Offshore, under which a single platform and offshore loading facilities will be used to lift some 75,000 b/d.

There are also hopes for western onshore areas, where finds have been made in the past. The Jamahiriya's National Oil Corporation has found a number of interesting structures in the Hamadah area, while further south Brazil's Braspetro has discovered oil at Murzuk.

□ This article is based on a lecture delivered to a seminar on the theme **Libya: problems and expectations**, jointly sponsored by the Confederation of British Industry and the conference organising firm Questmore, and held in London on 12th October.

LIBYA'S GROWING influence since the discovery of oil and the 1969 Revolution has been accompanied by an increasing hunger for information about the country. Yet academics have been slow to meet the need for considered analysis of Libya's overall socio-economic development. In part, this has stemmed from the extraordinary speed of Libya's transformation from one of the poorest countries in the world. Oil was discovered in 1959, and the first exports came only in 1961. Seven years later the monarchy of King Idris was swept away by the Al Fateh Revolution. In depth analytical studies depend on a degree of hindsight; trends must be identified and explained, and their implications for the future assessed.

The period after the discovery of oil and before the Revolution was too short for socio-economic development trends to establish themselves clearly. At the same time, however, the political context remained unchanged. Libya remained what it had been since nominal independence in 1951 — a backwater ruled by a compliant monarch acting in accordance with the interests of his US and British sponsors and the western multinational oil companies. Libya was hardly a mystery, and needed no urgent exposition by western academics.

The Revolution of 1st September 1969 inaugurated a period of profound change, and thrust Libya onto the centre of the world stage. The foreign military bases were shut down as the revolutionary authorities moved to assert the country's political independence. A determined assault on the privileges of the oil companies ended with a dramatic rise in the oil revenues available for social and economic development. The Revolution brought an equally sweeping change in Libya's role in world affairs, transforming it from a meek, western client state into a key member of the non-aligned group of third world countries, opposing domination by either of the major superpowers and giving active support to popular liberation movements in Palestine, southern Africa and other parts of the developing world. Suddenly, there was a clamour for hard information on the new Libya.

If the Libyan Revolution had been like others, a new pattern of economy and society might soon have emerged, and been readily amenable to academic study. But the Al Fateh Revolution has wrought changes of unique dimensions. In particular, as the revolution gained momentum, a comprehensive system of direct, participatory democracy was established. The system was proclaimed in 1977, some eight years after the start of the Revolution. The period since has seen further important developments. The Revolution has not stood still. Frustratingly for foreign academics, clear themes, trends and solutions have taken time to emerge.

Libya since Independence, despite its title, focusses on the period since 1969,



A new era for a new generation of Libyans

The tempo of change

THE TEMPO of change in modern Libya has hindered academics intent on identifying long-term political and socio-economic trends. Dr Alan George reviews a new study which, in twenty years since the discovery of oil and thirteen years after the Revolution, provides the first comprehensive survey of the Jamahiriya's progress.

and is the first time that the changes of the revolutionary period have been comprehensively documented. The book is divided into two parts; seven chapters examine aspects of resource use and economic development, embracing topics such as agricultural development strategies, industrial development and the progress of the oil industry. Four chapters in Part Two examine social and political changes.

The book is a well-balanced selection of the papers delivered by British, French and Libyan academics at a seminar held

last year at London University's School of Oriental and African studies. The seminar papers excluded from the present volume deal mainly with the economic and social history of Libya in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and are being published in a companion volume to appear soon under the title: *Social and Economic Development of Libya since 1835*.

The current book offers much more than a simple, descriptive account. Key trends in Libyan development are discussed critically, and the authors do not flinch from expressing their views on how Libya is faring. In Part One, for example, J A Allan argues forcefully the need for a greater awareness that Libya's limited water resources pose the key constraint on its long term agricultural development. During the 1970s, the country's water reserves were over-exploited, and studies showed that even in 1981 the rate of use of underground water in the agriculturally vital Jefara plain, west of Tripoli, was six times the rate at which the groundwater was recharging. There is still a pressing need, says Allan, for 'an agricultural development policy which subordinates economic, political and social considerations to the optimum management of water'.

One of the best chapters is Hervé Bleuchot's *The Green Book: its Context and Meaning*, which deals with Muammer Qadhafi's revolutionary thinking. The Libyan leader's views are 'little known by the outside world and, when discussed, are usually distorted and rarely given serious and disinterested consideration,' says Bleuchot. 'The Western press treats him with caricature and superficiality, usually as the result of a limited number of interviews by journalists who do not have an adequate knowledge either of Libya or of Arabic.' Bleuchot does much to fill the gap, offering a sympathetic analysis of *The Green Book* that is nonetheless not fawning. If Muammer Qadhafi's propositions sometimes appear strange to westerners, that is often only because his thinking is rooted in unfamiliar social, cultural and religious traditions, and perhaps the most stimulating aspect of Bleuchot's work is the way the *Green Book* is explained as the product of the key influences that have shaped the Libyan leader — bedouin society, Islam and Arabism to mention the most important.

Libya and its revolution are often wilfully and grossly misrepresented. This new volume, however, should do much to redress the balance. As a wide-ranging source of accurate information and analysis that is at the same time very readable, it should prove invaluable to all who are interested in gaining a sober insight into Libya.

□ *Libya since Independence: Economic and Political Development*, Edited by J A Allan, Croom Helm, London and Canberra, 1982. 187 pages. Price: £12.95, hardback.

Venice honours Garyounis University

A HIGHLIGHT of this year's prestigious Biennale arts festival in Venice will be an exhibit of Benghazi's ultra-modern Garyounis University. Dr Alan George reviews the design concepts employed by the university's architects, the British firm of James Cubitt & Partners, who last month staged a preview of the Venice display at their London offices.

BENGHAZI'S GARYOUNIS University has been chosen as the subject of an exhibit for the Second International Exhibition on Modern Architecture in Islamic Countries, which forms a part of this month's prestigious Biennale arts festival in Venice. It is a singular honour for the university's architects, Britain's James Cubitt & Partners, who were asked to prepare the display, and who staged a special preview at their London offices in October.

Exhibits for the Biennale are selected by a special Italian government-appointed committee, currently headed by the historian Dr Giuseppe Galasso. In a letter to the British firm explaining the detailed requirements for the exhibit, the noted Italian architecture critic Professor Paulo Portoghesi, Chairman of the Committee of Experts of the Architecture Section, said that the objective of the architecture exhibition was 'to provide a highly-qualified panorama of research, studies and projects illustrating the various solutions put forward for the social, cultural and environmental problems of countries in the Islamic area, in such a way as to interest a wide section of public opinion, and not just the experts'. Professor Portoghesi added that his committee considered the Garyounis display to be 'extremely important and significant'.

James Cubitt & Partners' exhibit comprises a series of large panels, showing the ground plan of the university complex and illustrating photographically key general and detailed design features. Each panel carries concise explanatory captions. Judging from the London preview, the firm will be making a significant contri-

Left: Students relax during a break from studies at Benghazi's acclaimed Garyounis University.

bution to the success of this year's Biennale.

The firm is naturally delighted. 'We are extremely gratified at having been chosen to exhibit,' said James Cubitt, who has long experience in Libya and a sympathetic understanding of the objectives of the Al Fateh Revolution. The Garyounis university authorities were equally pleased. When Mr Cubitt informed them of the invitation to exhibit, and sought their approval to go to Venice, the University's Vice President, Professor Salem Shabani, declared: 'There is no one in Libya who would object.'

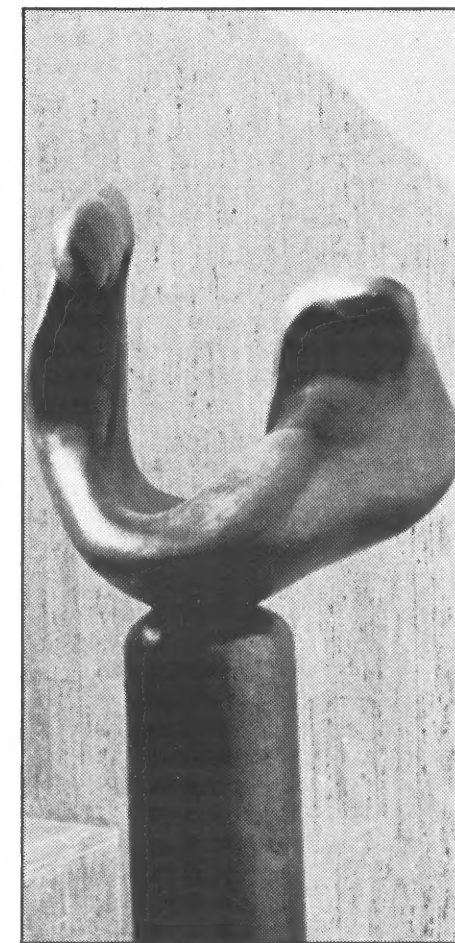
The initial design work, begun in 1966, was based mainly on ideas current in university design in Britain at the time. The focus was on the requirements for a broadly-based education, with an interplay between the various disciplines, rather than a narrow emphasis on a single subject. Another important aim was to break down barriers between students and staff by encouraging them to use the same communal facilities.

Challenge

Writing in the *Architectural Association Quarterly* in 1974, James Cubitt spelled out the major challenge in designing Garyounis. Normally, he said, architects work to a very tight brief, producing tailor-made buildings in accordance with conventional wisdom on university development. Garyounis, however, proved very different. 'It soon became clear that the usual ideas on university development were unknown or considered irrelevant. Numbers of students and their increase, the staff-student ratio, methods of teaching, phasing of the development programme — these and all the other cows that Treasury control and the university mystique have made sacred here (in Britain) were barely open for discussion.' In the case of the Benghazi project, Mr Cubitt continued, the architects' task was 'to make drawings for a university of a specified size; submit them, discuss the comments then made, make alterations as needed and supervise the building work'.

At the centre of the process was a continuing dialogue with the university authorities, which Mr Cubitt described as being 'rather like that between the Christian medieval church builders and their architects'. It was a sharp contrast to the traditional role of architects, who are usually expected merely to dictate solutions to their clients.

The approach in Libya, said Mr Cubitt entailed designing 'in a vacuum', with a minimum of information and without hard-and-fast guidelines, and involved a radical change in traditional modes of operation. Yet he is convinced that the experience was rewarding. 'I believe that the function of the architect was purified at Benghazi; that we were forced to think far more clearly, deeply and sensitively. In particular sensitively because it was necessary — without one



James Cubitt's sculpture situated in a secluded pedestrian corner.

year — to gain the University's confidence, to understand their requirements, to design, discuss, redesign and refine.'

Theories

Garyounis University was designed without reference to formal architectural theories. 'Formal design, appearance, architectural elements and relationship as conventionally described and discussed are not particularly important,' said James Cubitt. 'Of course the buildings make sense in terms of volume, shape, scale, materials and setting. But there is little or no imposed "aesthetic" compared, say, with trendy buildings here (in Britain) and abroad.'

There is, however, an underlying design consideration, albeit functional rather than aesthetic. There was clear agreement between the university authorities and the architects that opportunities for casual meetings of those using the premises should be maximised, by locating the buildings in the complex close to each other.

Another major design factor was a desire to exploit the opportunities offered by the bright local climate, perhaps most strikingly by the use of coloured finishes on the outer walls of buildings.

The university's ground plan is unique. The four-floor library, capable of holding one million volumes and of seating 3,000 readers, is the focal point of the whole complex. Grouped around the library are

the faculties — arts, science, economics and engineering — each comprising main blocks for teaching and administration, and associated lecture halls. Near the main entrance to the campus, at a little distance from the central academic complex, lies the university's main administrative building, distinguished by its striking gold mosaic dome.

In accordance with the desire to encourage 'mixing' between staff and students of different disciplines, thereby promoting a strong community spirit, the faculties, lecture halls and main library are all situated very close to each other. The 'intimate' atmosphere of the central complex is further enhanced by its setting in a flat and extensive university site.

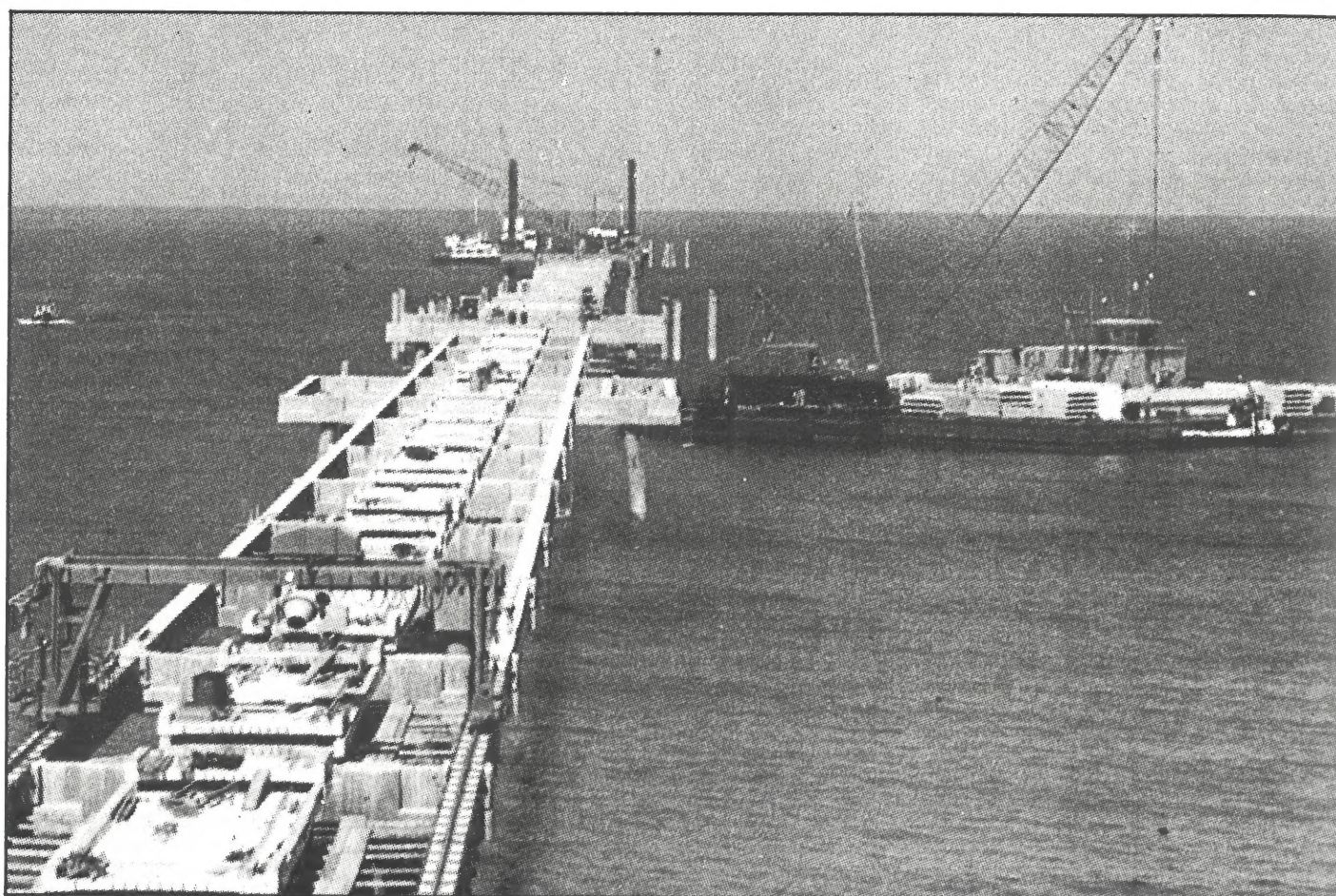
Elevated

Liberal use is made of elevated walkways to link the faculties, library and lecture halls, enabling free movement at both ground and first floor level and providing a strongly unifying element. The main structures are rendered particularly striking externally by a variety of finishing materials, mainly marble and ceramic tiles. The lecture theatre groups are particularly strongly decorated. The arts theatres, for example, have a design of large octagonal orange ceramic tiles on a white marble background. The economics lecture halls have a design in small hexagonal blue tiles on white marble, and the law theatres are decorated with a design in grey-green hexagonal tiles and white and coloured marble.

The university is being developed in a series of phases. The first construction contract, covering the faculties of arts, economics and law, the central library and the main university administrative building, was won by Union Engineering a Yugoslav consortium, in 1968. Designs provided for teaching places for a student population of 17,000, and the work was completed in 1974.

Phases 2, 3 and 4 provide for dormitories with 4,500 beds, dining halls with 2,400 seats and sports facilities. The Phase 2 and 3 dormitories and dining halls were completed between 1973 and 1977. Phase 5 comprises the faculty of science, currently being built by South Korea's Daewoo Development Corporation under a \$82.4 million contract awarded in 1981. The faculty will cater for between 2,500 and 3,000 students. Phase 6 embraces a faculty of engineering, also catering for 2,500-3,000 students, and work was completed in 1981 by the West German firm Ruterbau.

Two other major elements in the Garyounis complex — a University Centre and a Great Hall — are being considered. The Centre would contain research, audiovisual and performing arts centres, in addition to common rooms, a cafeteria, shops and accommodation for visitors. The Great Hall would comprise an entrance court, a 3-8,000 seat auditorium, and a conference centre with open-air seating. Total audience capacity would be 20,000, including the courtyard.



Benghazi's jetty oil terminal, built by Fiat-owned Impresit.

Libya ups Fiat stake

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has increased its shareholding in the Italian industrial conglomerate Fiat from 9.1 per cent to 13.58 per cent, it was revealed in September. The increase came in early 1981, when Fiat more than doubled its capital to \$241 million. Because of the increase, Libya did not take up a share option which it would have needed to convert by June this year, and which would have also brought Tripoli's stake to about 13 per cent.

Libya's Fiat shareholding is administered by the Libyan Arab Foreign Investment Company (LAFIC), set up in September 1981 with a capital of \$1.7 billion to manage the country's direct, non-banking investments abroad. The Libyan Arab Foreign Bank (LAFB), which previously handled all overseas investments, and which acquired the Fiat holding in 1977, now manages only the country's banking investments.

Go-ahead for gas pipeline

THE SOVIET Union is to take part in building a 570 kilometre gas pipeline along the Libyan

coast, the Soviet news agency TASS has announced. The pipeline will link gas-gathering facilities at Marsa Brega with the mammoth petrochemicals complex under construction at Ras Lanouf, the \$1 billion fertiliser complex planned for the town of Sirte, and the iron and steel works being built at Misrata.

TASS added that Soviet oil technicians were working alongside Libyan specialists in exploratory work in the Sarir region, to the south of Benghazi, and that more than thirty wells had so far been drilled, with an annual flow of 3-4 million tonnes.

\$40 million contracts for urban schemes

SWEDEN'S ARMERAD Betong Vaegfoerbattringer (ABV) has won two contracts, each worth \$20 million, from the Jamahiriya's Housing Secretariat for extensions to the new town under construction at the oasis settlement of Kufra, in south east Libya.

The first contract involves building access roads to the town, banks and a number of other small buildings. Completion date is October next year. The second award is for the construction of a mosque, a shopping centre and

two schools, which are scheduled for completion by mid-1984.

ABV won the initial \$143.5 million turnkey contract for the Kufra new town in October 1980. The contract provided for the construction of 600 homes, schools, and sewage treatment plants, and completion was set for three years from the start date. ABV says that work on the new town, which will have some 2,000 residents, is already half finished.

The Swedish firm has been negotiating for some time for the construction of another new town at an undisclosed location between Benghazi and Kufra. The company expects the scheme to be about the same size as the Kufra project.

ABV is also negotiating a contract to build two small sewage treatment plants in the Tripoli region, it was disclosed in October. The work, valued at \$6.8 million, is for the Jamahiriya's Housing Secretariat.

New company for Ras Lanouf scheme

THE RAS Lanouf Oil & Gas Processing Company has been formed to take over the management of the Ras Lanouf petrochemicals complex from the

Azzawiya Refinery Company (ARC), which was originally set up to administer a refinery on the coast to the west of Tripoli. Secretary of the new company's management committee is Mr Rajab al Kawafi, who was formerly with ARC.

Work on the petrochemicals complex — the Jamahiriya's largest — is well advanced. A 220,000 barrels per day refinery, built by the Italian firms Snamprogetti and Saipem, and Bulgaria's Tehnoekspostroj, is scheduled to start operations in the first quarter of next year. Also due for commissioning early next year is a 330,000 tonne per year ethylene plant built by the British subsidiary of America's Stone & Webster Engineering Corporation, Italy's Belleli Industrie Meccaniche and Technoekspostroj. The refinery and ethylene plant will form the basis of a range of petrochemicals plants, including a polypropylene plant, low and high density polyethylene plants and a monoethylene glycol plant.

Most of the products of the Ras Lanouf complex will be exported through its own nine-berth harbour, nearing completion by South Korea's Hyundai Construction & Engineering Company under a \$300 million contract won in 1980. Overall consultant for the Ras Lanouf complex is the US firm Brown & Root.

New equipment for oil pumping station

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S Arabian Gulf Oil Company (AGOCO) is to renew turbines and buildings at its Nafoora oil pumping station, 200 kilometres south of Ajdabiya. Equipment with a total installed capacity of 25-30 MW is reportedly needed, and bids for the project's consultancy were due on 15th September.

Designs under way for Marsa Brega new town

FOLLOWING THE completion of a tender evaluation report on the first construction package for the Marsa Brega new town, on the coast about mid-way between Benghazi and Tripoli, tender documents have been prepared for an additional four packages. The new town, to cost more than \$500 million, will house workers at one of the Jamahiriya's largest petrochemical complexes, being developed nearby.

The first construction package covers a neighbourhood comprising 1,300-1,500 homes to accommodate 7,000 people, and an award is expected early next year. The other packages include a second neighbourhood, a sewage treatment plant, a desalination plant, roads and a district centre comprising public buildings. The consultant, a US joint venture by McGaughey Marshall McMillan and Holes & Narver, will soon complete designs for a third neighbourhood at Marsa Brega, and has started designs for a second district centre, a hospital complex and other buildings.

Wadi LebDAH dam opens

AS PART of the celebrations marking the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Libyan Revolution, Mumammer Qadhafi on 7th September formally inaugurated the Wadi LebDAH dam, near the coastal town of Homs. 1,068 metres long, 140 metres wide and 27.8 metres high, the dam will store surface runoff from a 300 square kilometre catchment area where the annual rainfall averages 250 millimetres. The reservoir will hold an average of 1,300,000 cubic metres per annum, although its capacity is 5,200,000 cubic metres, to allow for abnormally heavy rains. The Wadi LebDAH dam is part of a project that includes nine other barrages, and will supply water for irrigation

and for industrial and domestic use in the town of Homs.

Wadi barrages are a central feature of the Jamahiriya's water conservation programme. More than ninety per cent of the country comprises arid desert, and in the better watered northern regions surface runoff from rainfall was previously lost to agriculture, draining along wadi beds into the desert or the sea. The opening of the Wadi LebDAH dam followed Muammer Qadhafi's 2nd September inauguration of the Jamahiriya's longest dam, across the Wadi Zart, near Tripoli, and of the smaller Wadi Ghan dam, both serving the Wadi al Hira irrigation project.

Agricultural development was also the theme of a tour in September by the Libyan leader of

the country's southern Fezzan region, when he visited the Al Aryal, Al Hammam, Abu Njeim and Nina schemes. The Al Aryal project embraces 125 irrigated sections of 40.5 hectares each. Work on the scheme started in 1977.

Lying seven kilometres north of the town of Sukna, the Al Hammam project includes a cattle breeding centre and chicken farms, whose output is distributed locally. The scheme also includes 182 farms of eight hectares each, planted with palm trees, grape-vines and fig trees.

The smaller Abu Njeim model farm project comprises 41 family smallholdings of four hectares each, planted with fruit and palm trees, and including farm-houses. The 1,003 hectares Nina



Economy and Light Industry Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa

Major landmarks for industry

MAJOR LANDMARKS in Libya's light industrial development plans came in September with the opening, as part of the celebrations marking the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution, of plants for the production of fruit juice, bicycles, leather and pre-cast concrete bricks. The bicycle and leather factories are both in the Jamahiriya's second largest city, Benghazi, and have respective annual capacities of 75,000 bicycles and six million square feet of leather. The fruit juice plant was opened in Tripoli by Economy and Light Industry Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa.

The new concrete brick plant was opened in Tobruk, also by Musa Abu Freiwa, and has a capacity of 1,000 bricks per hour. In a special report on 14th September the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed that technical and economic feasibility studies have been completed for eight further cement block and tile factories, to be sited in Ubari, Ghadames, Al Niqat al Khams, Souf al Jeen, Sebha, Tarhouna, Marzaq and Adjedabia.

Encouraging news for Libya's light industrial sector also came with an announcement by JANA on 23rd September that the Al

Muzari'i factory in Janzour had increased its output of plum juice by 115 per cent since the plant entered operation last January. Current production is 5,000 cases of forty cans each, working two shifts per day, and the Al Mamoura Food Company, which administers the plant, is planning to install a new production line, to achieve a capacity of 600 cans per minute.

A key aim of the Libyan Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan is the diversification of the economy, increasing the role of the major productive sectors of agriculture and industry, and reducing the size of the oil sector. Heavy and light industry together take the lion's share of planned investment — LD 3.9 billion, accounting for 23 per cent of overall planned expenditure. Of this, light industry has an allocation of LD 1.2 billion.

While formally part of the light industrial sector, Libya's food processing plants also have an important role in the country's long term plans for food self-sufficiency by the turn of the century. The current five year plan calls for a fall in the proportion of consumption met by imported food from 38 per cent in 1980 to 36.5 per cent in 1985.

scheme lies to the south of Abu Njeim, and produces grain, fodder and fruit.

Reporting Muammer Qadhafi's southern tour on 22nd September, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA added that he had also opened a section of the new road linking Al Shati and Al Mafraq.

Industrial role for Koreans

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S General Company for Instruments and Electronic Equipment (GCIEE) is seeking participation by South Korean firms in twenty industrial projects, the Korean Trade Promotion Corporation (Kotra) has disclosed. The plants will reportedly produce vehicle parts, textiles and electronic components. Earlier, it was reported that GCIEE had merged with Libya's General Electronics Company.

Australian technology for agriculture

AUSTRALIA'S GROWING role in Libyan agricultural development was underlined in September with the disclosure that the Western Australian firm of Kimber Seeds has an order for two pitter seeders, valued at \$29,000. The seeders are suitable for sowing arid land seed mixes in desert reclamation projects.

It is not the first time that Libya has availed itself of agricultural technology developed in Australia, where natural conditions are often very similar to north Africa. In October it was disclosed that the farming machinery manufacturer Connor Shea & Company had completed delivery of 970 multi-purpose grain and fertiliser seed drills. The contract, worth \$4.7 million, was believed to be the largest single agricultural equipment order ever placed in Australia by an Arab country.

Australia is also involved in the Jamahiriya's plans to increase production of camel meat. In February *Newsweek* magazine revealed that Libya was negotiating with Australia to buy 700 camels for breeding and meat, but it is not known whether the discussions related to a Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform Secretariat project to set up four new camel breeding centres, disclosed in September by the Valetta daily *Jamahiriya Mail*. A feasibility study has been completed for the scheme, which would have a capacity of 8,548 camels. There are at present some 90,000 camels in Libya.

THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

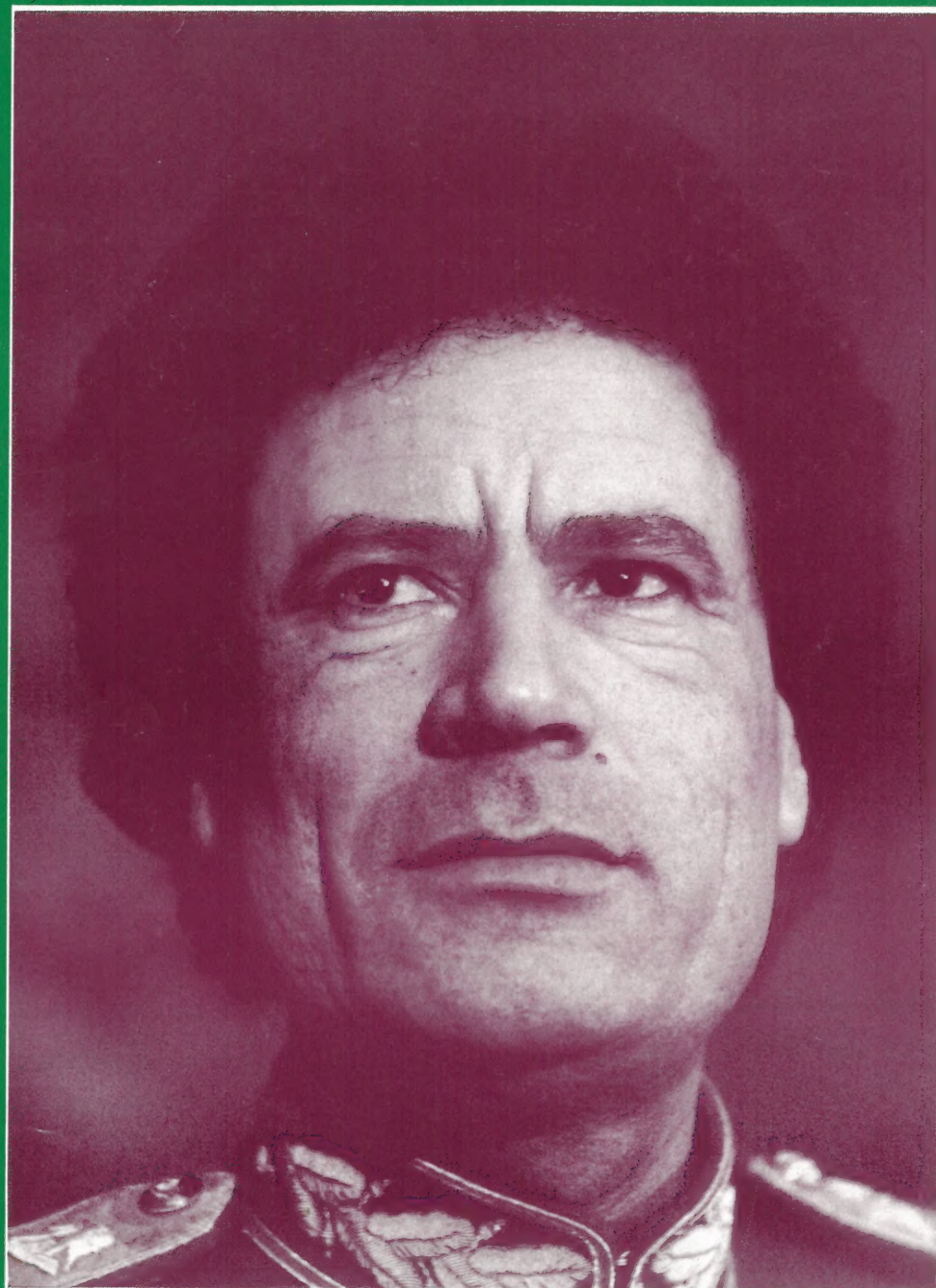
The solution of the Economic Problem

PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.



Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

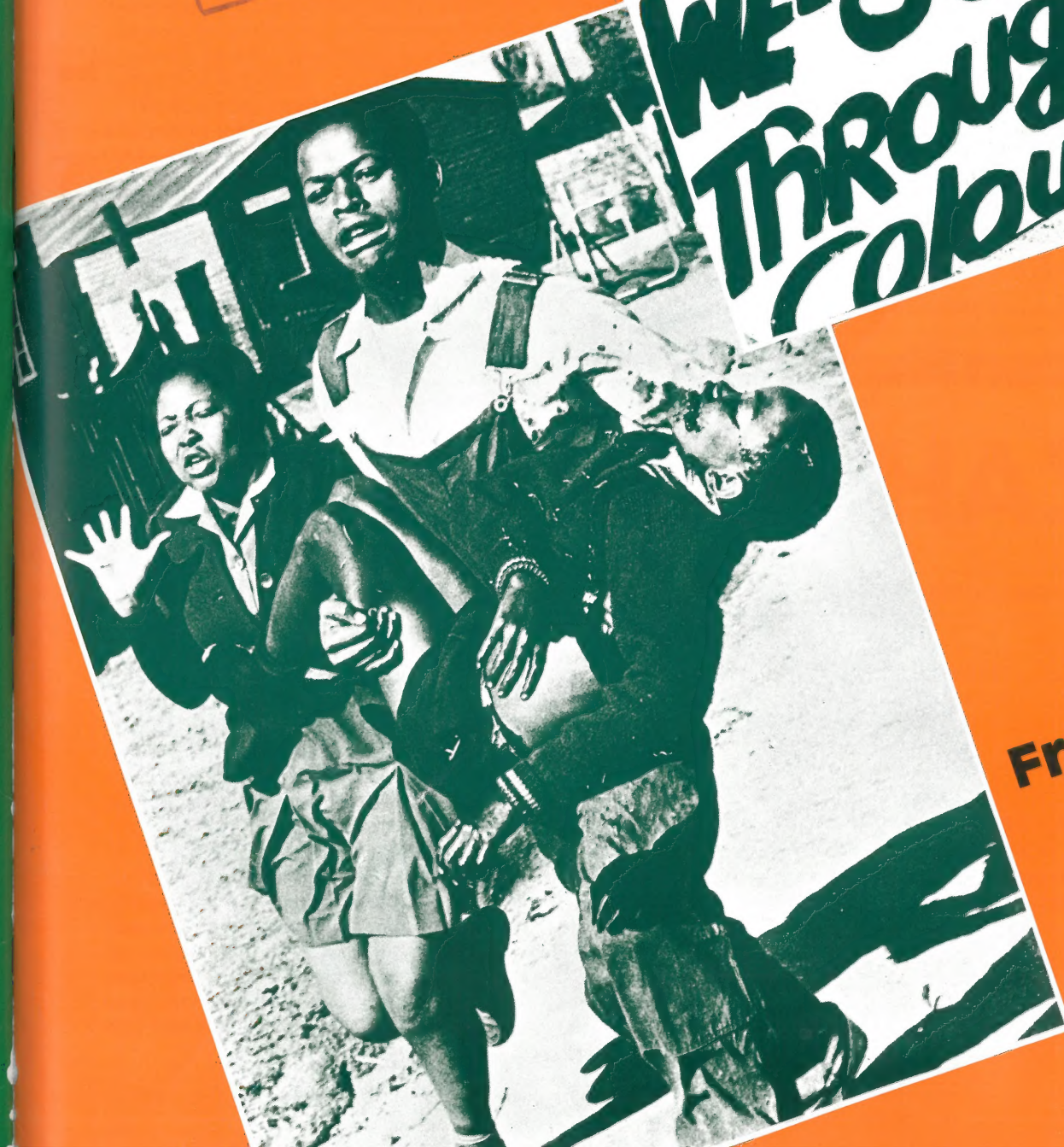
jamahiriya review

December 1982 50p

New moves to strengthen Anglo-Libyan ties

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